manifested in "the setting up of great bureaucratic apparatuses, . . .
rresponding increases in the effective participation capacity of the
s of the rural population."
ocioeconomic situation in Latin America is already too complex for
ns. Such complexity characterizes the region as a whole and, more
, certain countries within it, which either cannot break the chains of
ss, dependence, and domestic social injustice for the majority of their
(immersed, as they are, in a negative process that feeds upon itself),
he other extreme, which appear to be at a stage of "forced landing
conditions" rather than at stages of "take off" or of "sustained
imitate the curious terminology of an economist [Walt W. Rostow]
ry much in fashion in the sixties. Thus, the traditional economic poli-
dequate to provide proper response to the great challenges of Latin
. .
roblems of Our America should be tackled not just with a willing
tenacious determination, but also—and above all—with the unwa-
of transcending solutions and approaches whose failure is shown by
l by carrying out to this end the great structural transformations in
nd economic spheres that reality demands. Only thus will the dearest
ir nations' forefathers prove capable of fulfillment.
ructural transformation of Latin America must be fundamentally ori-
rd changing the norms and conditions of production: the types of
uced, how they are produced and who produces them, so that a con-
omic policy may be applied that will benefit the mass of the popula-
lear that such economic changes must be accompanied, or even pre-
olitical changes that would give a wider popular base to the region's
s.□

An Early Statement of Economic Nationalism

ventieth century, nationalists increasingly focused attention on the prob-
underdevelopment and dependency, economic realities they regarded
arable. An early contributor to the ideas of economic nationalism, the
intellectual Alberto Tôrres (1865–1917) wrote a series of books be-
909 and 1915 equating economic development and nationalism. To ex-
real sovereignty" and express "true nationalism," he affirmed, the
ate must control its own sources of wealth, its industry, and its com-
his pioneer economic nationalist argued that Brazil had turned over its
ic destiny to foreigners, who had sown their capital without restriction
e in the process of reaping an abundant harvest. He convincingly put
se ideas in his book *O Problema Nacional Brasileiro* (The National Bra-
oblem), published in 1914.

OUR NATION has renounced its own heritage. Foreigners seize it. Foreign companies, recently arrived foreign immigrants, foreign businessmen without any headquarters in our country, foreigners in transit or with a residence just long enough for them to enrich themselves take advantage of our vast regions, our soil, our railroads, and our natural sources of wealth. They purchase our property; they take advantage of the credit extended by our banks. They seem to have future projects that would divide our country into spheres of influence. It is impossible to disguise the fear provoked by the contrast between these undeniable facts and the benign, even permissive attitude of our governments toward the growing reality of foreign domination.

The Brazilian people have no idea of the national danger that suddenly confronts them, even threatens them. Foreigners control the national patrimony as well as the exports. Our territorial integrity, our independence, and our sovereignty exist at the mercy of the great economic and military powers. . . .

There can be no doubt about the present alarming economic situation of our country with its disequilibrium between production and consumption and the commercial and industrial inflation. Powerful foreign businesses, whose activities conflict with the best interests of our nation, exploit us mercilessly. The economic ideas that come to us from abroad are adverse and always alien to our best interests. Indifferent to our priorities and needs, foreigners view Brazil exclusively as a source of profits.

Their interests do not complement ours. They persuade some Brazilians with their logic to the extent that they have come to favor foreign exploitation to the detriment of their own Brazil.

Our financial crises further expose us to foreign domination. Absorbed in matters of foreign credit and crushed by the pressure of debts, the governments descend to the lowly status of subordinates, showing real fear of foreign creditors and capitalist pressures. They are unable to give the nation the direction needed to serve its own best interests. They are slaves to foreign interests. They compromise the nation. Above all else, the independence of a people is founded on their economy and their finances. . . .

In order for a nation to remain independent, it is imperative to preserve the vital organs of nationality: the principal sources of wealth, the industries of primary products, the instrumentalities and agents of economic vitality and circulation, transportation and internal commerce. There must be neither monopolies nor privileges, but there must exist ample guarantees and protection for free labor, individual initiative, small-scale production, and the distribution of wealth. . . .

A people cannot be free if they do not control their own sources of wealth, produce their own food, and direct their own industry and commerce.□

Source: Alberto Tôrres, *O Problema Nacional Brasileiro: Introdução a um Programma de Organização Nacional* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1914), pp. 111–113, 115–116, 122, 123–124.